

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7663
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USNATO 11736

BELGRADE FOR USDEL CSCE

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, CSCE
SUBJECT: EC-NINE PAPER ON BELGRADE

1. THERE FOLLOWS INFORMAL MISSION TRANSLATION OF EC-NINE
PAPER ON BELGRADE, CIRCULATED BY BELGIAN REP AT NOVEMBER
22 POLADS MEETING (SEE SEPTEL).

2. BEGIN TEXT:
REPORT TO MINISTERS ON POLITICAL COOPERATION AMONG THE
NINE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT OF HELSINKI AT
THE BELGRADE MEETING

1. THE FIRST PART OF THE WORK AT THE BELGRADE MEETING,
DURING WHICH DELEGATIONS CONDUCTED A DETAILED EXAMINATION
OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT, ENDED ON NOVEMBER 12.
THE SECOND PART OF THE MEETING WILL BE DEVOTED TO THE
STUDY OF NEW PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, IN CONFORMITY WITH
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ARTICLE I(4) OF THE DECISIONS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING,
THE WEST INSISTED THAT DURING THE SECOND PHASE OF THE
MEETING, THE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION COULD CONTINUE.

DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MEETING, THE NINE DEVELOPED
ALL THE THEMES WHICH THEY HOPED TO PUT FORWARD, AND TRIED
TO INITIATE A DIALOGUE WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES TO

ACHIEVE THE DETAILED EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SPECIFIED IN THE FINAL ACT. THEY ACHIEVED THIS ONLY PARTIALLY, DUE TO THE FREQUENT ABSENCE OF EASTERN RESPONSES TO CRITICISMS WHICH WERE ADDRESSED TO THEM.

IN FACT THERE WAS A CERTAIN CONFRONTATION OF POINTS OF VIEW WHICH SOMETIMES PROVIDED REASONABLY EFFECTIVE AND CONCRETE RESULTS. AN ANALYSIS OF THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST PHASE OF THE MEETING CANNOT THEREFORE BE CONSIDERED AS COMPLETELY NEGATIVE. ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THE EAST THREATENED TO LEAVE THE MEETING, BUT THESE THREATS WERE NOT TAKEN SERIOUSLY, NOR WERE THEY PUT INTO EFFECT.

IN ANY CASE, THE NINE SUCCEEDED IN MAINTAINING, VIS-A-VIS THE EAST, A "CONTINUING PRESSURE" DESIGNED TO INFLUENCE, IF ONLY MODESTLY, THE ACTIONS OF THE USSR AND ITS ALLIES. THE NINE SHOULD TRY TO MAINTAIN THIS PRESSURE.

THE NINE HAVE ALREADY PRESENTED AT BELGRADE PROPOSALS LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE BETTER IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT. MOST OF THESE PROPOSALS WERE PRESENTED AS COMMUNITY PROPOSALS, WHICH PERMITTED THE NINE TO AFFIRM THEIR COHESION.

COMMON POINTS OF VIEW WERE REGULARLY PRESENTED AND DEFENDED BY THE PRESIDENCY AND BY MEMBER STATES. THE
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COMMISSION SPOKE OUT WHENEVER QUESTIONS CONCERNING ISSUES FALLING WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE COMMUNITY WERE BEING STUDIED.

WEEKLY COORDINATION MEETINGS OF THE NINE, ORGANIZED BY THE PRESIDENCY IN ORDER TO HARMONIZE INDIVIDUAL DELEGATION ACTIONS, WERE PARTICULARLY CONSTRUCTIVE.

IN SUM, A REVIEW OF WORK ON THE EXAMINATION OF IMPLEMENTATION INDICATES THAT THE NINE MAY BE CONGRATULATED ON WHAT THEY ACCOMPLISHED AT BELGRADE. THIS EFFORT CONFORMS TO THE OPTIONS OF THE PARTNERS AND CONSTITUTES THE RESULT OF A GOOD DEAL OF USEFUL PREPARATORY WORK. THE POINT HAS BEEN MADE AGAIN THAT THE NINE CAN WORK TOGETHER IN A COORDINATED AND EFFICIENT MANNER.

2. THE PHASE OF WORK PRESENTLY BEGINNING AT BELGRADE WILL SEE EFFORTS OF THE PARTICIPANTS AIMED TOWARD THE EXAMINATION OF NEW PROPOSALS, LEADING TOWARD A DRAFT PERMITTING PROPOSALS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE CLOSING DOCUMENT OF THE MEETING.

PRESENT QUESTIONS:

(A) NEW PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION

THERE ARE ABOUT 80 NEW PROPOSALS. THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS NUMBER SHOULD NOT BE EXAGGERATED SINCE, WHILE CERTAIN PROPOSALS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY IMPORTANT, OTHERS HAVE OBVIOUSLY BEEN PRESENTED FOR TACTICAL REASONS, PERHAPS TO ACHIEVE BALANCE AMONG THE PARTICIPANTS AND THE BASKETS.

DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE SHOULD MAKE AN EFFORT TO:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USNATO 11736

-- REJECT, TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, PROPOSALS THAT WE
BELIEVE ARE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE;

-- CONVINCE DELEGATIONS WHICH HAVE PRESENTED PROPOSALS OF
SECONDARY IMPORTANCE TO ABANDON THEM;

-- AMALGAMATE PROPOSALS WHICH HAVE SUFFICIENT POINTS IN
COMMON;

-- AMEND PROPOSALS WHICH DESERVE TO BE RETAINED IN PART;

-- PROPOSE TO TRANSMIT OTHER PROPOSALS TO EXISTING
ORGANIZATIONS WHICH COULD DEAL WITH THEM IN AN ADEQUATE
MANNER (FOR EXAMPLE, THE ECE).

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED STATES,
AS WELL AS ROMANIA, ARE RATHER ATTACHED TO THEIR PROPOSALS,

WHICH THEY CONSIDER TO BE AN ESSENTIAL FACTOR FOR
PROGRESS. THEY TEND TO REACT RATHER STRONGLY TOWARDS
DELEGATIONS WHICH OPPOSE THEIR PROPOSALS OR SUGGEST
DELETIONS. ALSO, DESPITE INITIAL EXAMINATIONS BY OUR
DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE, IT IS NOT YET POSSIBLE TO SAY
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WHAT PROPOSALS OR POINTS WOULD BE SUSCEPTIBLE TO GLOBAL
OR BALANCING ARRANGEMENTS.

(B) EXPERTS GROUPS

THE NINE HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN THE POSITION TO ACCEPT THE
CREATION OF ONLY A MINIMUM NUMBER OF EXPERTS GROUPS TO
EXAMINE PROBLEMS RELATING TO CSCE IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN
BELGRADE AND THE NEXT MEETING. THE LARGE NUMBER OF
PROPOSALS PRESENTED LENDS ITSELF TO THE CREATION OF
RELATED EXPERTS GROUPS. EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT THESE
EXPERTS GROUPS CAN SOMETIMES BE VERY USEFUL. ONE COULD
THEREFORE PERHAPS ADOPT A SLIGHTLY MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE
CONCERNING THEIR EVENTUAL CREATION. THE CRITERIA OF
USEFULNESS AND THE POSSIBILITY OF CONCRETE RESULTS SHOULD
BE THE MAIN GUIDE FOR THE NINE.

(C) THE MEDITERRANEAN

STUDIES AND CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE NINE CONTINUE ON THIS
SUBJECT.

(D) CLOSING DOCUMENT

THE MINIMAL FORM OF THE CLOSING DOCUMENT COULD BE A
COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH THE 35 PARTICIPANTS STATE THAT THEY
MET AT BELGRADE. THIS WOULD INDICATE A SETBACK AT THE
MEETING.

HOWEVER, ACCORDING TO THE RESULTS OF DISCUSSIONS UNDERWAY,
THE TEXT CAN BE DEVELOPED BY INCLUDING:

-- COMMENTS ON THE EXAMINATION OF IMPLEMENTATION;
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-- A DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSALS ACCEPTED;

-- MODALITIES FOR THE NEXT MEETING.

EACH OF THESE POINTS SHOULD BE THE OBJECT OF NEGOTIATION.
AT THIS POINT, IT IS DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE THE FORM AND
THE SUBSTANCE THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO SEE ADOPTED FOR THIS
DOCUMENT. THIS WILL DEPEND ON NEGOTIATION, AND THE
RESULTS THAT WE ACHIEVE.

3. NEXT MEETING

(A) PLACE

THE NINE SHOULD NOTE THAT THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED
DO NOT HAVE AN EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE. ANY CAPITAL OR CITY
OF A PARTICIPATING COUNTRY SHOULD BE A POSSIBLE CANDIDATE.
A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT HAS BEEN GIVEN TO MADRID. NEGO-
TIATION COULD LEAD TO THE ACCEPTANCE OF VIENNA. ONE
COULD ALSO ASK IF IT WOULD NOT BE PREFERABLE TO PROPOSE
SOON A WARSAW PACT OR WESTERN CITY.

(B) DATE

IT SEEMS THAT 1980, THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION
OF THE FINAL ACT, WOULD BE PERFECTLY SUITABLE.

(C) LEVEL

ON THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FINAL ACT IT MIGHT BE
OPPORTUNE TO ELEVATE THE MEETING TO THE LEVEL OF
MINISTERS OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AT LEAST FOR THE OPENING

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AND/OR CLOSING, FOR EXAMPLE.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES HAVE A PREFERENCE FOR MEETINGS AT A MORE MODEST LEVEL. THEREFORE IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO NEGOTIATE ABOUT THE LEVEL AS DESCRIBED ABOVE, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS IDEA WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTED BY THE EAST EXCEPT IN RETURN FOR A CONCESSION ON OUR PART.

4. ROLE OF THE PRESS

TO DATE, CONTACTS WITH THE PRESS HAVE BEEN EXCELLENT. DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE SHOULD CONTINUE THESE CONTACTS. THIS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT AS A PERIOD OF COMPLEX WORK ON A LARGE NUMBER OF NEW PROPOSALS COMMENCES, IN WHICH JOURNALISTS COULD EASILY LOSE THEIR WAY.

IN ANY CASE, IT IS MOST IMPORTANT FOR US TO INFORM PUBLIC OPINION THROUGH THE PRESS OF IDEAS DEVELOPED BY OUR DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE.

5. POSSIBILITY OF A TRIAL CONCERNING SHCHARANSKY CONFIDENTIAL

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DELAYS IMPOSED BY THE SOVIET SYSTEM COULD MEAN THAT A TRIAL MIGHT START SOON. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, THE ATTITUDE OF THE NINE WILL HAVE TO BE CONSIDERED. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT GOVERNMENTS SHOULD MAKE STATEMENTS IN CAPITALS TO PARLIAMENTS AND TO THE PRESS ON SUCH A DEVELOPMENT, AND ON THE CONSEQUENCES RESULTING FROM IT. THESE STATEMENTS SHOULD BE REPEATED IN MEETINGS BY DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE. OTHER MEASURES COULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED. END TEXT. BENNETT

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